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A. Male Uro Indian dressed in a camiseta.

B. Uro woman.

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C. Little Uro girl.

D. Uro maiden.

[End Plate 4]

2:Métraux--78 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/356 cont./

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*796
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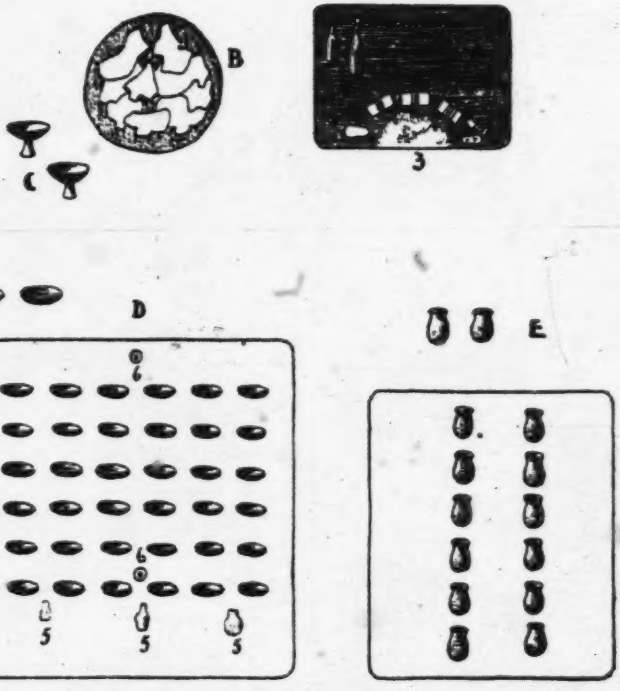


Fig. 35. — Respective arrangement of the various accessories at the time of the C'al'a (Festival of the samiri).

A. Cellar containing the samiri. 1:Bottles full of alcohol; 2: bags with various magical materials; 3: the samiri covered with wool; 4: bunches of flowers.

B. Bowl containing the samiri (calcareous stones) and blood.

C. Censers.

D. The cupules laid out on a cloth. 5: small baked clay bottles; 6: two coins.

E. Phials containing a special mixture differing from that of the cupules.

/366 cont./

*796 [562] [887] [732] In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

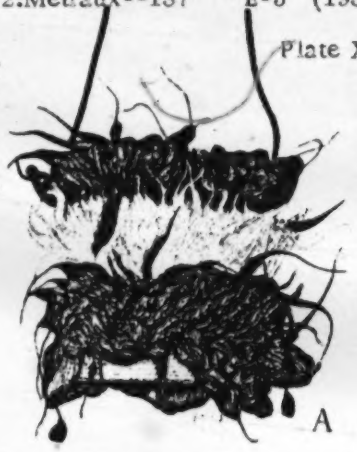
[616] The authorities of the saya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 133/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

[415] [278] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

Plate XVI



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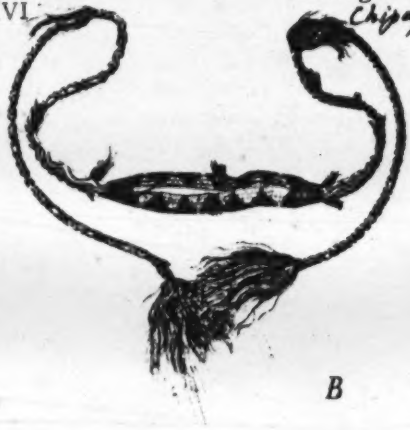
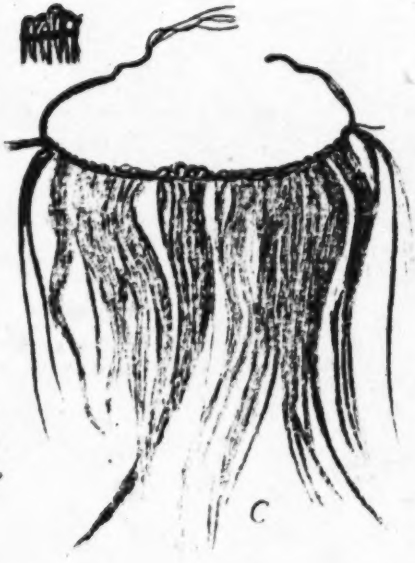
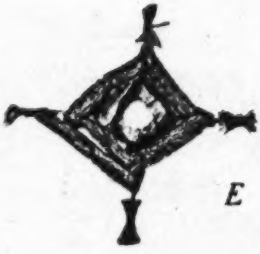


B



C

D



E

F

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.

B. – Festive sling.

C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.

D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).

E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.

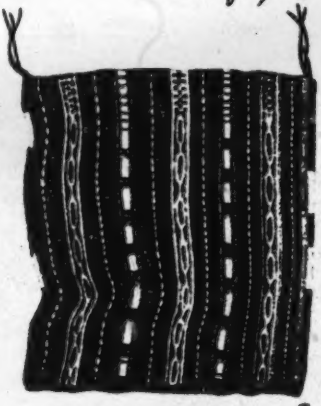
F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVII

● 415
[531]

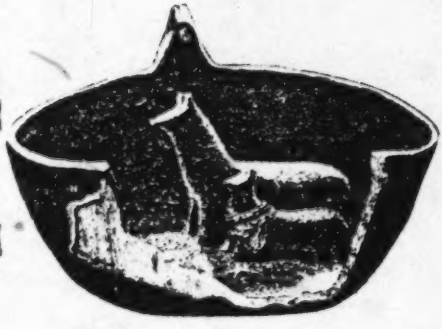
A



C

[534]

*[1196]
[782]



D

[532]

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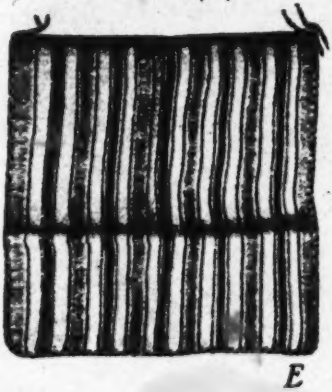
531
415

B



E

/See captions on next page./

Carangas–
Chipaya

Plate XVII

415 A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals
532 modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.
286
531 B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.
*796 C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (käls).
782 D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.

E. – Woven bag (käls).

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots of tola (čoksa, čoxsa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes (kxaru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p^{h}it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (čapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipaya huts is most summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

/163/

/See captions on next page./

/163 cont./

Fig. 2. –Čipaya material culture. Utensils and tools.

A: Baked clay stove of the Aymara Indians.
B: Wooden spoon (wisl'a).
C: Čipaya stove (from a sketch).
D: Adze with T-shaped blade.
E: One-livre stone weight used by the Aymara of Carangas to weigh the potatoes and salt they sell in Chipaya.
F: Čipaya whatnot.
G: Mortar (t^{w}ax) (from a sketch).
H: Stone hammer.
I: Axe with T-shaped heel and old hafting.
J: Stone vat (takxira) for treading on quinua seeds (from a sketch).
K: Aymara hoe from the village of Belen (Oruro Department).

/167/

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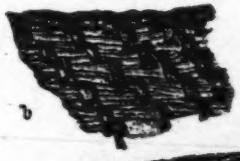
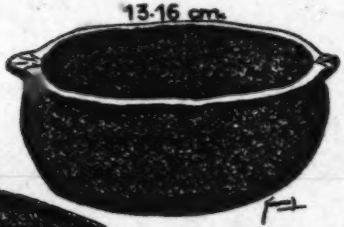
[415]



13-16 cm.



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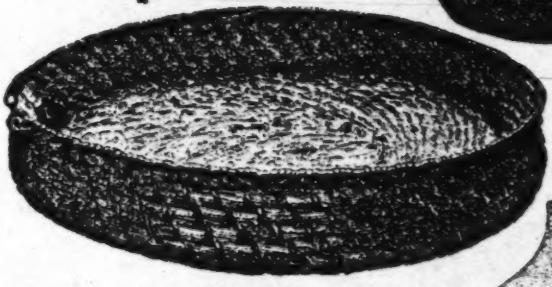


415

A

29cm

[414]

B

48 cm.

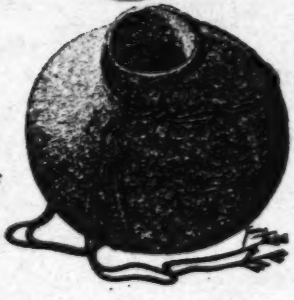
E

[284]

5 cms.

C

F



/See captions on next page./

/167 cont./

Fig. 3. — Čipaya material culture. Basketry and pottery.

285 A: Basket with spiral basketwork used as a winnowing basket by the Čipaya; b: detail of the technique.

224 B: Fish-trap basket of the shore-dwellers of the Poopó marshes, used by the Čipaya to hold small objects.

415 C: Fragments of a broken bowl sewn together.

D: Cipaya bowl (čua).

E: Jug (luš) reminiscent of the old aryballus, bought in Chipaya but of Aymara manufacture.

F: Jug (luš) of old type (from a sketch).

Carangas -
Chipaya

/169/

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/See captions on next page./

Carangas—
Chipaya

/169 cont./

283
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172

Fig. 4.—Čipaya material culture. Weapons and technology.

A: Čipaya sling.
B: Bag (kălis) covered with white, black, and red tufts forming a sort of velvet.
C: Čipaya bola perdida.
D-E: Pre-Columbian bolas.
F: Weaver's dagger (wiña), of bone.
G: Čipaya loom for weaving women's belts (mai).
H: Spindle with wooden weight /whorl/ (t'eri).
I: Bag (kălis) made from the skin of a llama's neck.
J: Weights of a modern Čipaya bola.

/174 cont./
women urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new unku or mantle. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballoi (177) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[Text continues on P. 166]

/175/

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[384]
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[303]

/See captions on next page./

Carangas-
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

A /175 cont./
415 Fig. 6.—Čipaya material culture. Ceramics

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439 A: Small jug of Aymara origin used by the Čipaya.
B: Aryballoid jug (iii) imported from Parinacota (Carangas Province) (from a sketch).
C: Small pot (iii) imported from Parinacota.
D: Jar imported from Parinacota (from a sketch made from life).
E: Large, slightly asymetrical jar imported from Parinacota;
b: detail of one of the ornaments on the neck.
4
[303] F: Small jar made without a potter's wheel (Chipaya).

Cavanga-
Chipaya

/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
[P] shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
435] produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 185/).

[P2] The names (maska, lič, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the
[P3] Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

443 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uč-čuma) or llama wool (xwai-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t'xri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiño) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[P4] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

2346frame--181 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Cavanga--
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24

/188 cont./

Some families still have k'eru, i.e., large wooden mugs (3).

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The k'eru which I saw in the hands of the Čipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which a llama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

No Čipaya hut lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVI. D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become manáco or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

/202 cont./

*171 412 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer *171 114 412 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld; he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World. In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 415 [553] [113] The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

/202 cont./

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[113]

and Doering (Heinrich),
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/,
Berlin, 1924, Pls. 99-101.

[532] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*[17] 286 Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-[531] Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

[113]

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

/203 cont./

*171 286

2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

●[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

*171 285 Basketry. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

*171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

[173]

3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 1a, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

/203 cont./

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●415
[113]

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9, Göteborg, 1931.

of Cuzco Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Čipaya the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the [203] occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (1).

1. Herrera, p. 1.

Conclusion

178 The review we have just made of all the Čipaya culture traits leads us to the following conclusion: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their distant original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Čipaya do not differ from the primitive populations of "las regiones frias /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "serranos /highlanders/." The interest in the Čipaya tribe does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many an object and many a technique which have disappeared elsewhere. They concern us insofar as they bear witness to rural Inca life, and not as representatives of an isolated ethnic group.

3:Vellard--6a D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

342

3. A typical house in Iru-Itu in 1938.

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415

4. The same house in 1942: the high roof of totoras shaped like a keel has collapsed and can no longer be repaired.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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415 →

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[534] ←

[524] →

PLATE 120.—Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians. *Top (left):* Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top (right):* Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom (left):* Dancer. *Bottom (right):* Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-H]

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *malleus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-measurements and making notes. We lunched, giving the remains to the children, who looked somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake, and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing to the poverty of the village, they have only enough fuel to light about one fire every day or every two days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets which had once been pink, and dusty battered bowler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and remarkably dirty, ran into the house and emerged dragging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was satisfied and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

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FIG. 2. Uru woman of Ancoaqui, Rio Desaguadero, Bolivia. Note *tupo* or bodice-pin, Titicaca hair-style braidlet, door, pottery and thatching.